

PERIODICALS ON THE RIGHT

In their pioneering study, The American Right Wing (a 1960 Report to the Fund for the Republic), Ralph Ellsworth and Sarah Harris comment that

There are approximately a thousand voluntary organizations in the United States today which may be called rightist, and which regularly publish or distribute great quantities of right-wing literature The publications which these groups sponsor range all the way from the earnest, smudgily mimeographed Voice of the Hour . . . to the handsome quarterly Modern Age

Ellsworth and Harris then go on to characterize and quote from a wide variety of such publications, covering a broad spectrum of the right wing.

The present Report focuses primarily on the circulation of right-wing periodicals, attempting to provide information on relative importance and on the pattern of growth. As in the Ellsworth and Harris study, a broad spectrum is represented, as well as a variety of formats. (While it was impossible to include data on the mimeographed Voice of the Hour, the quarterly, Modern Age is included.) In addition to variety, an effort was made to include as many as possible of the major periodicals on the current right-wing scene.

The primary source of data for this study has been the Form 3526 statements required for periodicals which have second-class postal status -- the annual ownership and circulation statement which must be filed with the Post Office Department and published each October. Included in these reports is the average paid circulation for the preceding twelve-month period, and it is this figure which has been used in the present study.

While this source provides data which are both reliable and comparable for a substantial number of publications, not all periodicals have second-class status and complete coverage has not been possible. For publications regarded as major or significant, an effort has been made to get a recent circulation figure from other sources (see Table 2). Among those for which circulation figures proved unavailable were: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Newsletter (Dr. Fred Schwarz), Greater Nebraskan (Congress of Freedom), Heads Up (Karl Prussion), Manion Forum Newsletter, New and Views (Church League of America), On Target (Minutemen), Task Force (Defenders of the American Constitution), and Thunderbolt (National States Rights Party).

Note: The Appendix briefly describes each of the publications included in the study, with special attention to their organizational affiliations.

TABLE 1

1965 CIRCULATION OF THIRTY PUBLICATIONS WITH 2ND-CLASS POSTAL STATUS

	*Human Events (Weekly)	123,435			New Guard (Monthly)	19,088
	Liberty Letter (Monthly)	92,379	+	+	Through to Victory (Monthly)	18,090
	*National Review (Weekly)	86,273	+	+	Western Voice (Weekly)	17,793
+	+	The Defender (Monthly)	82,385		Life Lines (3 Times a Week)	10,600
+	+	*Christian Crusade (Monthly)	81,000		Augusta Courier (Weekly)	6,700
+		The Councilor (Semi-Monthly)	60,496		*Free Enterprise (Monthly)	6,162
+		Common Sense (Semi-Monthly)	52,000		*Modern Age (Quarterly)	5,328
+	+	Christian Beacon (Weekly)	50,000		Dawn (Monthly)	5,198
	*American Opinion (Monthly)	35,400			*Weekly Crusader (Weekly)	4,600
	*Dan Smoot Report (Weekly)	33,289			Conservative Viewpoint (Monthly)	4,200
+	+	*The Wanderer (Weekly)	33,055		*America's Future (Weekly)	3,250
+		The Citizen (Monthly)	30,490		Western Destiny (Monthly)	2,738
+		The Cross and the Flag (Monthly)	29,481		Washington News Beat	2,650
	American Mercury (Quarterly)	27,975			*Top of the News	2,094
	Freedom Press (Semi-Monthly)	19,498			National Chronicle (Weekly)	520

Source: Form 3526 returns filed with Post Office Department.

* Recommended by the John Birch Society

TABLE 2

PUBLICATIONS WITHOUT 2ND-CLASS POSTAL STATUS

Publication	Circulation	Source
+ + * <u>Christian Economics</u> (Fortnightly)	210,000 (rec)	<u>Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65</u>
* <u>The Freeman</u> (Monthly)	15,232 paid 34,361 (rec) 49,593	<u>N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory, 1966</u>
* <u>National Program Letter</u> (Monthly)	37,000	November, 1965 promotional mailing
* <u>Independent American</u> (Monthly)	23,000	July, 1965 promotional mailing
<u>Freedom Magazine</u> (Monthly)	20,000	<u>Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65</u>
<u>Intercollegiate Review</u> (Bi-Monthly)	unknown, but ISI claims 18,000 members -- 1964 edition,	<u>Encyclopaedia of Associations</u>
* <u>Economic Council Letter</u> (Semi-Monthly)	12,000	Reports filed under Lobbying Act for 1964; (no subsequent reports have been filed)
* <u>Monetary Notes</u> (Monthly)	8,300 (rec)	<u>Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65</u>
* <u>Firing Line</u> (Monthly)	5,000	
<u>Washington Report</u> (Monthly)	unknown, but ASC told a Chicago <u>Daily News</u> reporter in 1962 that it distributed "about 5,000" copies of its reports	
* <u>U. S. A.</u> (Bi-Weekly)	1,500	<u>Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65</u>

*Recommended by John Birch Society

(The various publications are described in the Appendix.)

Rankings

Tables 1 and 2 list recent circulation figures for 41 periodicals. Thirty of these have second-class status and the figure given is the average paid circulation for the year prior to October, 1965. Table 2 lists eleven periodicals which do not have second-class postal status but on which some sort of circulation figure is available. Nearly half of the publications listed in the two tables have been recommended to Birch Society members by its leader, Robert Welch. (See JBS Bulletin, April, 1962, for example)

The largest circulation is claimed by the fortnightly, Christian Economics, which goes free to a mailing list of more than 200,000 persons, mostly ministers. Among the periodicals with paid readerships, Human Events commands the largest circulation, followed by Liberty Lobby's monthly newsletter (which, at \$1 a year, is one of the least expensive of those listed in Table 1), and William Buckley's influential National Review, perhaps the most respected of the periodicals on the right. Wide variety in terms of format, focus, and degree of ideological extremism characterizes the listings, and there seems to be little correlation between these factors and the size of readership. Thus, it is disturbing to note that two of the ten largest paid-circulation periodicals are characterized by openly bigoted material -- The Councilor and Common Sense -- and that the publication of one of the country's most durable bigots, Gerald L. K. Smith, ranks in the top fifteen. Thus, also, the highly intellectual quarterly, Modern Age, is bracketed in the standings by the highly simplified Free Enterprise and Dawn.

The importance of religious overtones on the American right wing, frequently noted by observers, is underlined by the fact that no less than four of the leading periodicals (Christian Economics, The Defender, Christian Crusade, and Christian Beacon) utilize specific religious appeal, as do an additional three of the less widely read (The Wanderer, Through to Victory, and Western Voice).

Finally, it should be noted that the circulation of a periodical is not necessarily the most significant indicator of the importance of an operation. Thus the relative impact of the radio programs of Fulton Lewis, Jr., America's Future, and Life Line, for example, are certainly far in excess of their printed circulation, and this is probably true to a lesser extent of the Dan Smoot Report and of Carl McIntire's "20th Century Reformation Hour" (sponsored by Christian Beacon).

Similarly, the general circulation periodical included in this study is frequently not the only publication of the organization concerned. The most important example here would be the Birch Society, which publishes a great deal of material beside American Opinion -- a monthly Bulletin, which goes to all members; a new weekly magazine, Review of the News (on which Form 3526 data for 1965 were not available); and a great many books and pamphlets. Life Lines publishes broadcast transcripts in addition to its newsletter. The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists also publishes Campus Report for its members. And, several of the organizations -- such as the National Education Program at Harding College, and Howard

Kershner of Christian Economics -- distribute newspaper columns.

As a means of putting the circulation magnitudes shown in Tables 1 and 2 into perspective, it may be of interest to note comparable figures for some publications to the left of center, given below in Table 3. Here, again, it must be stressed that a broad variety is represented -- ranging from The Reporter (sometimes characterized as "Establishment Liberal") to The Worker and Political Affairs (both published by the U. S. Communist Party). It should also be stressed that no effort is being made here to list "counterpart" periodicals as such, but only to provide some quantitative comparison from the other side of the political spectrum.

It is noteworthy that only The Reporter exceeds Human Events in paid circulation, and that only it and New Republic rank with the top five of the right-wing publications listed in Table 1. Indeed, only three of those listed below have paid circulation which would place them in the top ten of the Table 1 publications, and the number of periodicals with circulation in excess of 15,000 is almost twice as large for the right-of-center group as for the left-of-center group.

TABLE 3

1965 CIRCULATION OF VARIOUS LEFT-OF-CENTER PUBLICATIONS

<u>The Reporter</u> (Fortnightly)	200,906
<u>New Republic</u> (Weekly)	118,528
<u>Progressive</u> (Monthly)	36,729
<u>Ramparts</u> (Monthly)*	29,471
<u>The Nation</u> (Weekly)	27,167
<u>National Guardian</u> (Weekly)	26,200
<u>New Leader</u> (Bi-Weekly)	25,420
<u>L. F. Stone's Weekly</u>	22,541
<u>Minority of One</u> (Monthly)	16,362
<u>The Worker</u> (Twice Weekly)*	15,605
<u>Monthly Review</u>	8,238
<u>The Independent</u> (Monthly)	7,782
<u>Liberation</u> (Monthly)	7,041
<u>New America</u> (Monthly)	6,350
<u>Political Affairs</u> (Monthly)*	5,000
<u>Dissent</u> (Quarterly)	4,734

Source: Those marked * are from N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory; others are from annual Form 3526 statements published under 2nd Class postal requirements.

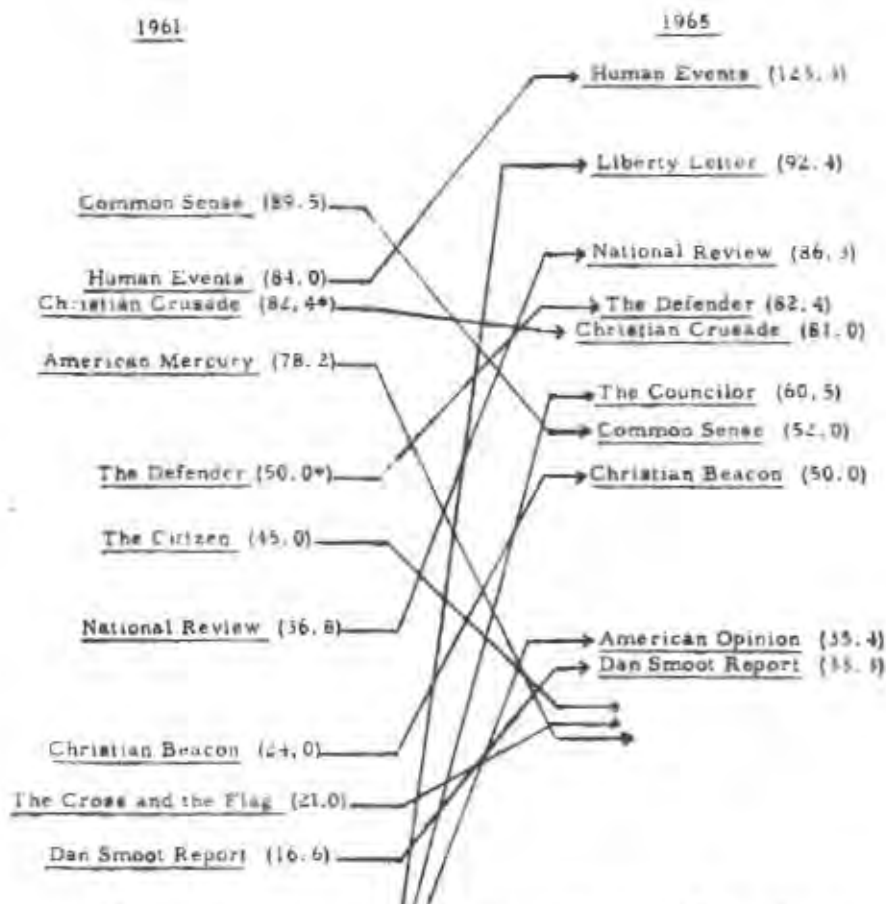
Changes from 1961 to 1965

Changes in the top-ranking right-wing periodicals between 1961 and 1965 are indicated in the listings of the "top ten" in each of those years -- shown on the next page.

Four of those listed remained in approximately the same relative position: Human Events moving from

THE TOP TEN, 1961 AND 1965

(Circulation in Thousands)



Source: * indicates estimated, others from Annual Form 1526 statement published by periodicals with 2nd Class postal status.

2nd to 1st place; The Defender from 5th to 4th, and McIntire's Christian Beacon and the Dan Smoot Report staying at the 8th and 10th positions respectively. The National Review moved up very substantially, from 7th to 3rd place, while Hargis's Christian Crusade slipped from 3rd to 5th place. Three periodicals which were not top-ranking in 1961 were in 1965: Liberty Letter, which showed the most spectacular gain and took 2nd place; The Councilor, at 6th place; and the Birch Society's American Opinion, at 9th place despite its relative expense (\$1 a copy or \$10 a year). The most precipitous decline was registered by American Mercury,

dropping from 4th place out of the ranks of the top ten. The Citizen did little better, dropping from 6th place out of the listing, and Common Sense, though remaining in the listing, fell from 1st to 7th place. Smith's The Cross and the Flag showed some increase in circulation over the five years, but not enough to hold even its 9th position.

The upward climb of Liberty Letter, National Review and American Opinion -- widely divergent though they are in tone and content -- may be reflective of increased political activity and interest on the right,

At the same time, the existence of a core of bigotry is testified to by the fact that the downward shift in the relative position of Common Sense and The Cross and the Flag is largely compensated for by the rise of The Councilor.

Growth Patterns

Data on changes in circulation over a period of time are furnished in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 provides figures for twenty periodicals for as many as possible of the years 1960 through 1965. Table 5 covers the earlier period, 1956 through 1961, for only four periodicals. While not comparable to the larger sample, this makes possible a look at the growth over a decade of time of four relatively important ones.

The Over-All Pattern - As a composite measure of growth, index numbers have been computed for both Tables 4 and 5, and the results are charted in the graph below.

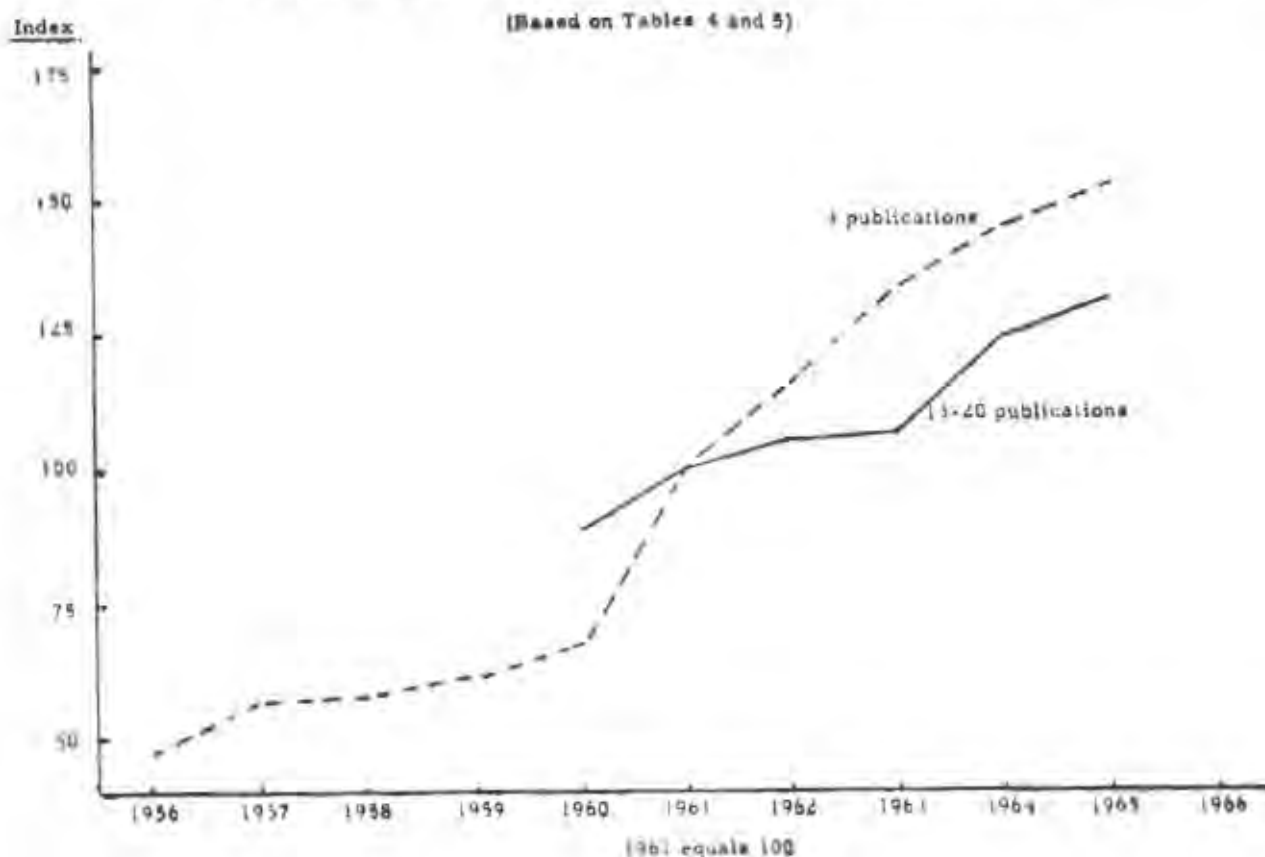
The larger sample of periodicals reflected a composite growth of nearly 50 per cent during the five years from 1960 through 1965. As will be noted, 1964 represented the year of most dramatic increase -- a result of the enthusiastic effort of the right wing in that year's presidential campaign. 1961 and 1965 also reflect substantial growth rates -- the latter probably as a continuation of the 1964 spurt, and the former probably

as a reaction to the return of the Democratic Party to the White House.

The composite growth rate for the small sample of four periodicals is somewhat different -- primarily in the more rapid rate of growth exhibited, at least prior to the final two years of the period. Average paid circulation for these four publications increased by just over 40 per cent during the four years 1956-60; then rose by nearly 50 per cent in the following year alone. While the 1961 rise was the steepest, these four periodicals have continued to increase their circulation at a very substantial rate -- almost another 50 per cent in the four years 1961-65.

Again, in an effort to place this growth rate in some sort of context, the pattern for a group of mass-circulation magazines may be of interest. The composite circulation figure for ten such magazines (Ebony, Life, Look, McCall's, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Saturday Review, Time and U. S. News and World Report) grew by about 22 per cent during the period 1960 to 1965. (Based on circulation figures reported in N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory, 1961 and 1966 editions) The two growth rates are not completely comparable since the mass-circulation periodicals represent a much larger quantity, and therefore could not be expected to show as large a percentage increase. However, composite circulation for the five "left-of-center" periodicals in Table 5 for which comparable data are available

INDEX OF COMPOSITE CIRCULATION GROWTH, 1956 THROUGH 1965



CIRCULATION FIGURES, 1960-1965, TWENTY PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATION	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Weeklies:						
* <u>America's Future</u>	--	--	[2,400]	[3,000]	3,075	3,250
<u>Christian Beacon</u>	(20,000)	24,000	32,000	45,120	66,495	50,000
* <u>Dan Smoot Report</u>	9,213	16,639	21,892	28,535	33,178	33,289
* <u>Human Events</u>	43,329	84,875	91,162	105,570	114,004	123,438
* <u>National Review</u> ^a	27,557	35,845	53,007	64,408	72,903	86,273
* <u>Top of the News</u>	--	--	1,700	2,131	1,920	2,094
* <u>The Wanderer</u>	(10,210)	[14,500]	(18,875)	19,462	21,140	33,035
<u>Washington News Beat</u>	--	3,760	4,160	2,862	2,612	2,650
* <u>Weekly Crusader</u>	[2,100]	[3,200]	[3,100]	2,118	3,865	4,600
<u>Western Voice</u>	--	--	--	15,538	13,185	17,798
Monthlies:						
<u>American Mercury</u>	87,500	78,826	57,438	(became quarterly - see below)		
* <u>American Opinion</u>	--	--	14,400	26,311	23,453	35,400
<u>Christian Crusade</u>	[57,700]	[62,400]	[80,400]	72,291	98,609	81,000
<u>The Citizen</u>	50,000	45,000	50,000	25,144	33,616	30,490
<u>The Cross and the Flag</u>	17,500	21,300	25,000	24,400	29,339	29,481
* <u>Free Enterprise</u>	3,563	6,129	6,978	4,600	9,200	6,162
<u>Liberty Letter</u>	--	[9,540]	[18,220]	15,302	26,528	92,379
Other:						
<u>American Mercury</u> (Quarterly)		[see above]		26,927	27,272	27,973
<u>Common Sense</u> (Semi-Monthly)	84,000	89,500	91,000	80,000	82,000	82,000
<u>Life Lines</u> (3 times a week)	--	--	[19,200]	17,700	17,540	10,600
* <u>Modern Age</u> (Quarterly)	5,289	5,526	5,286	5,318	5,178	5,328
INDEX OF GROWTH --	88.7	100.0	105.7	106.7	124.9	132.2

*JBS recommended

[] estimated

[] from N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicalsa National Review Bulletin, alternate weeks.

-- not available

TABLE 5
CIRCULATION FIGURES, 1956-1961, FOUR PUBLICATIONS

Publication	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
* <u>Human Events</u> (Weekly)	25,614	40,333	38,119	39,220	43,329	84,875
* <u>The Freeman</u> (Monthly)	42,548	40,577	41,357	40,450	44,716	47,722
* <u>National Review</u> (Weekly)	18,000	19,419	19,080	25,835	27,557	35,845
* <u>Dan Smoot Report</u> (Weekly)	3,000	6,000	7,000	8,128	9,213	16,639
Index of Growth (1956: 100)	100.0	119.4	120.6	127.4	140.0	207.8
Index of Growth (1961: 100)	48.2	57.1	58.1	61.4	67.4	100.0

*Recommended by John Birch Society

Source: The Freeman from various editions of N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals; others from annual Form 3526 reports filed with Post Office Department.

(Nation, National Guardian, New Republic, Political Affairs, and Reporter), reflected a growth rate for the period substantially above that of the mass-circulation magazines, but below that reflected by the periodicals in Table 4 -- despite the fact that the quantitative "base" for the "left-of-center" periodicals was the smaller.

Individual Patterns -- While the over-all pattern was substantial growth, there were, of course, variations between individual periodicals. Three which grew rather steadily throughout the period covered were Human Events, National Review and The Wanderer. The Dan Smoot Report showed steady growth through 1964, then levelled off. Two others showed rather steady growth through 1964, then "fell off" the following year -- though still above their 1963 level: McIntire's Christian Beacon and Hargis's Christian Crusade. The Birch Society's American Opinion evidently would have grown steadily throughout except for a very sharp increase in price at the beginning of 1964. Despite this "setback," its over-all growth was among the most impressive.

The most spectacular growth, as has been noted, was exhibited by Liberty Letter. On the basis of data for the four years 1961-64, it appeared that its circulation was "tied" to election year; however the 1964 campaign gave it such a stimulus that it "broke" the pattern and instead of dropping back somewhat in the odd year, continued to grow at such a rate that its 1965 circulation was nearly quadruple the prior year's.

Three of the publications exhibited a general "downward" trend -- though each tended to "rally" somewhat in 1964: Common Sense (which lost its founder and

long-time editor in mid-1963), The Citizen, and H. L. Hunt's Life Lines newsletter. The durable Gerald L. K. Smith publication, Cross and the Flag, exhibited a general upward tendency, but in a somewhat erratic manner.

Advertising

Roughly a dozen of the periodicals covered by this study carry outside advertising. While no attempt at a detailed survey of advertising patterns was attempted, the names of advertisers who appeared in more than one periodical may be worth noting.

Conservative Book Club and its publishing subsidiary, Arlington House, appear currently to be the largest buyers of space. Their ads -- usually full, or even double-page spreads -- are to be found in American Opinion, Human Events, Intercollegiate Review, National Review and New Guard.

The next most-ubiquitous advertiser would be Knott's Berry Farm, owned and operated by the active right-winger, Walter Knott (Sec 2 - IND). His ads are to be found in Freedom Press, Freedom Magazine, Human Events and New Guard.

American Temperance Associates, an insurance firm offering policies at reduced rates to non-drinkers, is a major advertiser in three of the periodicals which are aimed particularly at fundamentalist readers: The Defender, Christian Crusade, and Western Voice.

Schick Safety Razor Co., headed by Patrick Frawley, Jr. (Sec 2 - IND), is a major and regular advertiser.

in both National Review and The Wanderer, and has also bought space in Freedom Press.

The Spirit of '76 House, Richard Jennett's mail order firm (see Sec 2 - IND), has been an occasional advertiser in American Opinion, Human Events, New Guard and The Wanderer.

Flick-Reedy Corp. and its Miller Fluid Power division buy space regularly in Freedom Magazine, Human Events and The Wanderer.

In addition to these, some eight firms are to be found advertising in at least two of the publications covered. (In most instances these firms are headed by people also active on the right wing.)

-- Allen-Bradley, a Milwaukee motor control manufacturer, regularly buys the back cover of American Opinion and either a full-page or two-thirds of a page in National Review.

-- W. H. Brady, another Milwaukee firm, which makes industrial tapes and labels, regularly advertises in National Review and New Guard.

-- Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, which operates its own "Free Enterprise Bureau," regularly buys the inside cover of The Freeman, and also advertises in Freedom Press.

-- Dr. Ross and Skippy pet foods, headed by the late D. B. Lewis (Sec 2 - IND), appear regularly in American Opinion and in Freedom Press.

-- Haverhill's, a San Francisco mail order firm, advertises regularly in Human Events and National Review.

-- Kennametal, Inc., headed by Pennsylvania rightist, Philip McKenna, frequently buys two-thirds of a page in Freedom Magazine and in National Review.

-- Regnery Co., the conservative publishing house, advertises regularly in American Opinion and in Modern Age.

-- Spindale Mills, firm of Birch Society Council member A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., take a half-page regularly in American Opinion and similar space in Freedom Magazine.

Conclusions

While any tendency to generalize broadly on the basis of the foregoing data should be resisted, since the periodicals covered represent a variety of styles, viewpoints, and appeals, some conclusions do seem to be warranted.

First, taken as a whole, the data on right-wing and conservative periodicals reinforces the data on finances (see Sec 4 - Special Report # 16) as to the substantial size and significance of the American right wing. In general, moreover, right-wing periodicals seem to enjoy far wider circulation than left-of-

center periodicals. That this is true of some of the more extreme and bigoted of the publications on the right is cause for particular concern.

Second, the present study also reinforces the finding on the basis of other indicators that the right-wing has exhibited impressive growth over the past several years. Moreover, the data confirm that the 1964 campaign provided the right-wing with an unprecedented stimulus, the effects of which carried over at least into the following year. Whether or not it represented some sort of a "water-shed" may be indicated as circulation figures for another year become available in the next few months.

APPENDIX: Descriptions of publications used in study,
arranged in alphabetical order.

American Mercury

The Mercury was made famous during the 1920's under the iconoclastic editorship of H. L. Mencken. In the early 1950's, however, it was purchased by Russell Maguire and came to be characterized by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as "one of the most widely quoted and promoted periodicals in extremist circles," and therefore, "the single most important anti-Semitic publication at the present time." (Facts, October-November, 1959) Mercury circulation at that time was evidently well above 80,000.

At the end of 1960 ownership passed from Maguire to Oklahoma insurance man Gwynne W. Davidson, who had also taken over control of Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., the operation of the late Kansas bigot, Gerald Winrod, and was also publishing The Defender (see below). Under Davidson, the Mercury continued to utilize a variety of rightist sources, including such highly questionable ones as Don Bell Reports and Canadian Intelligence Digest. It also began to decline, in terms of size, prominence of contributors, and circulation.

After two years, ownership changed again, this time to a Texas organization, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, headed by the late Mr. and Mrs. Jason Matthews. In April, 1963, it was changed from a monthly to a quarterly and a year later reached its nadir in terms of size -- the Spring and Summer, 1964, issues were only 8 pages each. Throughout the period of the Matthews' ownership, former General Edwin A. Walker played a prominent role, and after their deaths (in May, 1963, and November, 1964), he served until mid-1965 as publisher and managing editor. Rev. T. Robert Ingram (Sec 2 - IND), of Houston, was also a regular contributor.

Most recently, while technical ownership of the Mercury has not changed, the June, 1966, Quarterly issue announces a major reorganization. The new Chairman of the Board is Bruce Holman, who was Secretary of Liberty and Property a decade earlier. Liberty and Property had published the newsletter Right, and the new Mercury announces that it is taking over subscriptions to a recent successor, Western Destiny (see below). The Mercury also announces an arrangement with the new semi-monthly newsletter, Washington Observer, edited by a former Liberty Lobby staff member, Lee Roberts. These ties to Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG) and to the old Liberty and Property are also reflected in the list of Contributing Editors -- including Stanley Andrews, Curtis Dall, and Joseph Kamp, all of whom are on Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy; Austin J. App, Henry E. Garrett, Frank Meyers, and Edward Vargas, all of whom were on the masthead of Western Destiny; and Robert Kuttner and Ned Touchstone, who were listed both places.

Subscription rates for American Mercury were: \$4 a year through 1962, then \$7 for 12 issues through mid-1964, and \$10 a year since then (with the semi-monthly newsletter now being added without extra charge).

Advertising is carried. Published at Houston, Texas; 2nd Class status at Oklahoma City, Okla.

American Opinion

Although Robert Welch announced in the June, 1960, issue of American Opinion that it "now belongs to the John Birch Society," the magazine pre-dates the organization. It began publication in February, 1956, as One Man's Opinion, changing its name two years later. Technical ownership of the magazine is vested in Robert Welch, Inc., but the John Birch Society, Inc. is listed as a major stockholder. Robert Welch is listed as "Editor" and Scott Stanley, Jr. as "Managing Editor." Its format is 5" x 9" in size, slick or coated paper throughout, front and back covers in color, and each issue generally runs to 110 or more pages. It does not use reprint material but relies on eight regular "departments" plus a number of special articles either by staff members or outside contributors. The Contributing Editors include Martin Dies, Sr., the former Congressman, and Medford Evans, who is on the staff also of the (White) Citizens' Councils. Former Congressman John Rousselot, now JBS public relations director is listed as "Publisher." Of a 16-man Editorial Advisory Board, some seven are JBS Council members. A joint July-August issue each year presents the magazine's annual "Scoreboard," -- "a composite of careful estimates made independently on four continents" of Communist influence in each country "as a percentage of total control."

American Opinion has had second-class postal status only since late 1961. The subscription rate was \$3 a year through 1963, has been \$10 a year since then. Advertising is carried. Published at Belmont, Mass.; 2nd Class status at Boston.

America's Future

A publication of America's Future, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG). It describes itself as "A Weekly Review of News, Books and Public Affairs." Rosalie M. Gordon, author of Nine Men Against America, is listed as Editor, and R. K. Scott, who is the operation's radio commentator, is listed as Publisher. The format is a 5" x 7", eight-page newsletter. The first half is devoted to a summary of the material presented on that week's radio broadcast; this is followed by a book review (usually by Rosalie Gordon); and the remaining space is devoted to brief reprint items, more often than not from newspaper editorials.

The material in a recent issue (7/5/66) indicates something of the flavor of the publication: "Red China in the UN?" ("The drive is again heavily under way to admit Communist China to the United Nations when that ineffectual, practically bankrupt but still dangerous international organization meets in the Fall"); "Shocking Admission and Proposal" ("... Here is the

federal Commissioner of Education, 12 years after the Warren Court issued its unconstitutional decree in the school segregation cases . . . admitting the result is a dismal failure"; "Golden Opportunity" (" . . . There is much evidence that there has been a great deal of clandestine communist infiltration of the various civil rights movements"); and the week's book review of This Kind of Peace by T. R. Fehrenbach ("For anyone who has been fed a steady diet of rose-colored pro-UN press releases, the book should come as quite a revelation").

Although America's Future has had second-class postal status since November, 1959, for some reason, circulation figures are available only for 1964 and 1965. Since May of this year, the publication seems to have stopped utilizing its second-class status. The subscription rate has been \$5 a year throughout the period since its first issue in March, 1959. No advertising is carried. Published at New Rochelle, N. Y.

Augusta Courier

This four-page, monthly tabloid is the personal publication of Roy V. Harris, who is national president of the (White) Citizens Councils of America. (Harris says that it has been suggested that he merge the Courier with the official magazine of the federation, The Citizen -- see below -- but that he prefers to keep it independent -- "It's my hobby." -- See James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, Appleton, 1962, p. 102.) A Georgia political figure, Harris was, surprisingly, an ally of Ellis Arnall in the early 1940's. They broke in 1945 -- Harris says that it was because he refused to "line up with the CIO and the Negroes." (Ibid., p. 110) Since then, Harris has been a leading figure in the segregationist forces of the state and region.

Described by one observer as "devoted almost entirely to white supremacist polemic." (Ibid., p. 102), the Courier features headlines such as: "Intelligent Race Relations Means Rigid Segregation"; "Lyndon Johnson, United States Congress Taking Orders From Martin Luther King"; and "When Did The Crime of Rape Become a Civil Right?" together with more general rightist charges, such as "Two Protestant Church Organizations Are Opposed To United States Victory Over Communism In Asia." Almost total concern with the "race issue" is reportedly a development of the 1960's, and the Courier was regarded in earlier years as a significant factor in state politics on other issues as well. Circulation of the paper has been relatively stable -- at least until recent years. From 1956 through 1961 it ranged between 4,800 and 5,400, averaging at almost exactly 5,000. The subscription rate has long been \$4 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Augusta, Georgia.

Christian Beacon

Edited by Rev. Carl McIntire, the Beacon describes itself as: "an eight-page, tabloid size, weekly religious newspaper. It contains sermons, Sunday school lessons, editorials on current religious happenings, analysis of events that have special significance to Christians, up-to-date news, and photographic reproductions of important documents.

It is in the forefront of the battle against modernism, apostasy, Communism and a one-world church."

The publisher, Christian Beacon, Inc., is a tax-exempt organization but does not file annual Form 990-A returns, claiming that it is a religious organization. In addition to publication of the weekly and various pamphlets, Christian Beacon, Inc., sponsors McIntire's daily radio program, "20th Century Reformation Hour," which claims to be carried over more than 600 stations.

The Beacon specializes in reporting the activities of the National and World Councils of Churches (which it opposes), and of McIntire's own operations, such as the American and International Councils of Christian Churches (he is a leader in both), International Christian Youth, and his Christian Admiral Bible Conference and Freedom Center (at Cape May, N. J.). Something of the paper's flavor is conveyed by the following sample headlines: "Major news media spread doubt of God" (4/14/66); "Bulgarian tomatoes, Czech chocolate bunnies, and Polish hams take U. S. money to Red governments" (4/21/66); "Methodist, Marxist lines overlap" (4/28/66); "Christianity and Marxism Cannot Dialogue" (4/28/66); "Preachers' responsibility is Gospel, not encouraging lawlessness" (5/19/66); and "McIntire Denounces NCC [National Council of Churches] Vietnam Position" (7/7/66). The Beacon's battle against liberalism extends even to its "Weekly Bible School Lesson." Thus, the 5/26/66 one says that some of the counselors to Josiah "sold him their ideas of making radical and liberal changes in the lives of their people. They felt that Jehovah-God was too slow and old-fashioned an idea for them . . . Such things are going on even in our day and with the same fatal results."

The Beacon began publication in 1936. The subscription rate has been \$2 a year throughout the period covered in this study. No advertising is carried. Published at Collingswood, N. J. -- 2nd Class status at Camden.

Christian Crusade

This is the monthly published by Billy James Hargis and his organization of that name. It utilizes a magazine format, 8 1/2"x11" with a standard size of 44 pages. The current name dates back only to early 1956, but it began publication in the late 1940's under the name Christian Echoes. Listed as Editor from early 1958 until early this year was Hargis's public relations consultant, L. E. "Pete" White. He has now been replaced by Gerald Pope, who had previously been an editor of The Defender (see below) and of American Mercury (during Gwynne Davidson's ownership -- see above). White continues to contribute a regular column.

Perhaps the most frequent contributor, aside from Hargis himself, is his assistant, David Noebel, best known for his booklet, Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles. A frequent feature also is the "Foreign Intelligence Digest" of Gen. Charles A. Willoughby (Sec 2 - IND), former intelligence officer for Gen. MacArthur and now lending his name to a wide range of rightist organizations, including the Birch Society.

The following are sample article titles from Christian Crusade issues during the first half of this year: "A Lesson in Sellout" by Gen. Edwin A. Walker ("Why doesn't the U. S. Senate censure Robert F. Kennedy?"); "The Worker and the National Council of Churches" by David Noebel ("there is little doubt that the greatest single friend the Reds have in the USA is the National Council of Churches"); "The Unfair 'Fairness Doctrine'" by Billy James Hargis ("the so-called 'Fairness Doctrine' is based on 'fairness' according to the ideas of the ultra-left Liberal Establishment. This is a form of censorship . . ."); and "Sentinel of the West: Biography of General Franco" by Gen. C. A. Willoughby.

Subscription rate was \$1 a year through January, 1964, and has been \$2 since then. While the magazine has had Second-Class postal status at least since 1960, circulation figures are available only for 1963 to date. Advertising is carried, though most of it is for Hargis's own operations and publications. Published at Tulsa, Okla. (See Weekly Crusader, below)

Christian Economics

A fortnightly published by the tax-exempt Christian Freedom Foundation and edited by its head, Howard Kershner, (Sec 2 - IND) it began publication in 1950. Its front-page statement of principles reads:

We uphold the Constitution of the United States and the limited government which it inaugurated; we believe in the free market economy and the faithful application of Christian principles to all economic activities.

The major financial backer of the Foundation and its periodical from the beginning has been J. Howard Pew, (Sec 2 - IND) the Sun Oil Co. magnate,

A four-page, newspaper format is utilized, with signed articles and occasional reprints in addition to the following regular features: "Voice of the Editor" -- in recent issues it has registered opposition to the proposed consular treaty (2/8/66); to the Supreme Court's "coddling of communism and Communists" (5/17/66); to an increase in the minimum wage (6/14/66); and to public welfare programs ("so-called state charity aggravates the problem, increases the number of needy and finally crushes the fit . . ." 2/22/66). "The Bible and Economics" -- recent titles have been "Christianity: Parent of Modern Capitalism," "The Ecumenical Madness," and "The Human Right to Private Property." Books recently reviewed favorably include Wilhelm Roepke's Welfare, Freedom and Inflation, H. L. "Bill" Richardson's Slightly to the Right, and Strike From Space by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward.

While paid subscriptions were once available -- at \$1 a year at first, then \$2 a year -- free distribution has always accounted for most of Christian Economics's circulation. (Ayer and Son's Directory in 1958 and 1959 listed 6,000 paid and 186,000 free distribution.) Since 1960 it has all been free distribution. No advertising is carried. Published at New

York, N. Y.

The Citizens

This is the official publication of the federated White Citizens' Councils of America. Begun in late 1935 as the paper of the Mississippi state organization, it became the voice of the federation the following year. A newspaper format and the name The Citizens' Council was used prior to September, 1961. Since then it has used the shorter name and a 5 1/2 x 8 1/2" magazine format, running anywhere from 22 to 46 pages. As a "house organ," it devotes much space to the activities of CCA and to articles and speeches by its staff members. It shares at least one regular contributor with the Birch Society's American Opinion -- Medford Evans. Sample article titles from recent issues are "Can 'Liberals' Be Educated?" (by Revilo P. Oliver), "Some Problems of Integration," "What's With Watts?", and "How to Start a Private School."

The subscription rate has been \$1 a year since September, 1961; it was \$2 before that. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Jackson, Miss.

Common Sense

Not to be confused with an earlier, liberal publication of the same name which ceased publication in the 1940's, this is the name also settled on by the late Conde McGinley, who published and edited it until his death in mid-1963. It is characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as a "notorious anti-Jewish hate sheet" (Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right, p. 35), and was once described by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "a clearinghouse for hate propaganda throughout the country" (12/17/54 Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups, p. 10). McGinley began publication of a weekly in 1946, using various names, settled on Common Sense in mid-1946, and changed to a semi-monthly schedule the next year. It has since kept that schedule and the four-page tabloid format. The organizational name of the publisher is Christian Educational Association, and the two major stockholders have long been listed as Adm. John Crommelin (Sec 2 - IND) and Hannah Cummings of Philadelphia. (See Form 3546 reports, 1958-1965) Since McGinley's death, a William J. Thompson has been listed as "Acting Editor" (Ibid., 1963-5)

The death of McGinley has not changed the anti-Semitic content of Common Sense. One recent issue front-paged an attack on the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966, asking if the shooting of James Meredith in Mississippi was "part of the Zionist strategy to push the passage" of the bill. The next page was headlined "Zionist Stranglehold on USA Tightening" and included an excerpt from the spurious Protocols of Zion in a box. And the back page headline was "Jews Take Aim at Detroit Executive Jobs" with another boxed excerpt from the Protocols. (6/15/66 issue)

The subscription rate has been \$1 a year (or \$5 in a sealed envelope) since September, 1964; was \$1 (or \$5 in sealed envelope) prior to that. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Union, N. J.

Conservative Viewpoint

Published and edited by Richard Cotten (Sec 2 - IND), whose main effort is his radio program of the same name, this is the newest of the periodicals covered in this study. It began publication in January, 1965, as a monthly, in a tabloid format, usually of eight pages. It utilizes a substantial amount of photo-reproduction from other right-wing sources, since Cotten regards as one purpose of the publication, "to bring you materials from many groups across the Nation." The sources chosen extend to obvious anti-Semites, including Gerald L. K. Smith, Common Sense, Robert H. Williams. Cotten's issue of July 15, 1965 was entirely devoted to "dealing with the Zionist situation."

Recently, Cotten has announced that the tabloid will shift to a bi-monthly schedule, and changed the name to Richard Cotten's Proof Sheet ("to avoid confusion with our daily radio scripts"). The subscription rate, which was \$1.50 a year, is now the same amount for eleven issues. Advertising is not carried. Published at Bakersfield, Calif.

The Councilor

The official publication of the (White) Citizens' Council of Louisiana, The Councilor has been described by the Anti-Defamation League as "blatantly racist and openly anti-Semitic." (Epstein and Forster, Report on the John Birch Society 1966, p. 10) It is a semi-monthly tabloid of four pages, and began publication in 1962. Typical headlines are: "Stab-Inn' Planned As New Civil Rights Terror Campaign" (2/20/66), "U. N. Plot Would Outlaw Writings of Lincoln, Washington, Franklin and Tom Jefferson . . ." (3/10/66), "Federal and State Legislation Based on 1928 Communist Party Platform" (5/25/66), and "Leftist Church Group Votes Officially to Deny Christ" (6/18/66). It features pictures of inter-racial couples, families and groups, and whenever possible identifies celebrities by Jewish names rather than their stage names. Now a regular feature of the paper is a front-page column by Westbrook Pegler.

The subscription rate is \$2 a year. Some advertising is carried, though it seems almost entirely to be local in origin. Published at Shreveport, Louisiana.

The Cross and the Flag

Now in its twenty-fifth year of publication, this monthly magazine is the official organ of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. It is 8" x 11" in size and runs to a standard 36 pages. It relies very heavily on material from other sources and frequently runs a box expressing thanks "to our friends who send in marked clippings." A content analysis of the magazine by a U. C. L. A. journalism professor found that two-fifths of its assertions were specifically anti-Semitic or racist or both. (Walter Wilcox, "The Free of the Radical Right")

The subscription rate is \$2 a year. No outside advertising is carried (full-page ads of "Morgan for Books", a mail order firm, seems likely to be a Smith-related

operation -- one of his sides is named Roland Lee Morgan -- since no other ads ever appear). Published at Los Angeles, Calif.; 2nd Class status is at Oleno date.

Dan Smoot Report

In format a four-page, weekly newsletter, this presents the same material as Smoot's weekly radio-television program. Both were begun in mid-1955. Each week, Smoot focuses on a single theme and the newsletter utilizes footnotes as a standard feature. Some recent titles follow: "Criminal Anarchy" (5/23/66) -- "The National Council of Churches has been recruiting, training, and financing people to create racial hatred and contempt for law"; "Communism on the Campus" (5/30/66) -- "Unless discipline is restored, colleges will become, not institutions of higher learning, but spawning grounds for subversion, perversion, and treason"; "For Our Own Survival" (6/29/66) -- "The bipartisan internationalist foreign policy which our government has followed since World War II keeps us involved in wars which our political leaders will not let us win . . . For our own survival, we must return to the traditional policy of national independence and benign neutrality which George Washington urged in his Farewell Address"; and "How to Roll Back the Socialist Revolution" (7/18/66) -- "In short, one certain way to roll back the socialist revolution is to adopt the Liberty Amendment . . . This amendment would repeal the 16th (income tax) Amendment, specify that treaties cannot override our Constitution, and prohibit the federal government from engaging in any enterprise except as authorized by the Constitution."

The subscription rate is \$10 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Dallas, Texas.

Dawn

Began in 1955 and edited until his death in 1962 by Sherwood C. Ide, a retired Indiana publisher, Dawn describes itself as "The National Patriotic Tabloid," and has been continued since Ide's death by his widow, Jane B. Ide. Published monthly and usually eight pages in length, it utilizes quite a considerable amount of reprint material, from the Congressional Record and from such sources as Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and Southern States Industrial Council. A regular contributor is Charles A. McCarthy, who is the executive vice-president of the related Council for Individual Freedom, also founded by Sherwood Ide. McCarthy writes that "It is imperative that we face up to the fact that we have lost the republic of our fathers" and warns "It will avail us nothing to pretend that the United States is not changed from a representative capitalism to a federal socialism." (Issues of September and October, 1965)

The subscription rate has been \$2 a year since mid-1963, was \$1 annually prior to that time. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Portland, Ind.

The Defender

This monthly magazine was begun in 1926 by the fundamentalist Kansas minister, Gerald B. Winrod, who also founded the tax-exempt organizational entity, Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc. Winrod, whose sympathy for Germany following visits in the 1930's led some people to dub him "the Jayhawk Nazi," ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1938, with the slogan: "Let's Keep Christian America Christian." He attacked Catholics, Masons and Jews and came to be what Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League called "the most successful operator" among those "dissident preachers whose religion is dosed with a heavy mixture of prejudice." (Forster, A Measure of Freedom, p. 81; see also Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, esp. pp. 26-39.)

After Winrod's death in late 1957, the organization was headed for a while by associates of his, first Rev. William T. Watson, then Dr. J. William Bostrom. In early 1960, leadership passed to Oklahoma insurance man, Gwynne W. Davidson, who also purchased American Mercury [see above, page 9]. Under Davidson, The Defender continued to reprint Winrod columns and articles and to use such extremist contributors as Kenneth Goff, a former associate of Gerald L. K. Smith's and Rev. Bob Shuler, who has also worked with Smith. (See Roy, op. cit., pp. 63 and 129-32)

By 1964, Davidson was succeeded as president of Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc. by G. H. Montgomery, who continues also as editor of The Defender, and has moved the headquarters from Oklahoma City to Kansas City. Continuity through these changes of leadership has been provided, however, by Mrs. M. L. Flowers, who had joined Winrod's staff as Business Manager and is now Secretary-Treasurer of the tax-exempt organization. While Montgomery appears to have eliminated bigotry from the magazine, it has not repudiated its past, and last year Montgomery himself published a biography of Winrod which characterized him on the cover as "Christian Soldier, Crusading Patriot, Defender of the Faith." The magazine also continues to lean toward rightist material from time to time. Thus, the February, 1966 issue featured a Montgomery article titled, "One World Government -- How Close Are We?" and the magazine offered subscribers a free copy of Strike From Space (Sec 1 - PUB). A regular feature called "Capitol Hill Voices" reprints excerpts from the Congressional Record -- usually by the more conservative Members.

The subscription rate is \$2 a year. While advertising was formerly carried, the July, 1966 issue announces that "all advertising will be discontinued." Published at Kansas City, Mo.

Economic Council Letter

This is the semi-monthly, four-page newsletter of the National Economic Council, founded (as the New York Economic Council) in 1930 by the late Merwin K. Harr, referred to by Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, of the Anti-Defamation League, as "one of America's most prolific voices of anti-Semitism

through almost three decades." (Report on the John Birch Society, 1966, p. 30) Since Hart's death in 1962, the Council has been headed by Mark M. Jones (Sec 2 - IND). While the Council, under Hart, was given to such charges as one that "the Zionists . . . became responsible for Hitler's going berserk;" under Jones it has tended to concentrate primarily on economic issues. Its current viewpoint is reflected in a red flyer that accompanied the March 15th issue this year and charged that:

these five usurping forces [The President, Supreme Court, "Labor Politicos," "Harvard Liberals," and "One World New Yorkers"] have used the Congress to enact a program to dismantle the Constitutional System of the United States, while picking the pockets of the people to pay for it . . . More and more Members of Congress are in violation of their oaths of office . . . What are YOU going to do about it?

It is also reflected in a box run in recent issues (May 15, 1966, for example) urging readers to "talk and work" against:

increases in government spending . . . unilateral disarmament . . . the Federal bureaucracy . . . the privileged position of/ un-responsible labor . . . inflationary pressures, and for/ the Prayer Amendment.

The subscription rate is \$10 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at New York, N. Y.

Firing Line

This is the monthly newsletter of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission. It is "devoted to exposing subversive activities in the United States" and says that it "is recognized by authorities on Communism and by officials of several investigative, intelligence and inspection groups of the Federal Government as one of the important publications in the specialized field of reporting on subversive individuals, organizations and publications." While it has given critical mention to The Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan, its main targets are organizations on the left -- in recent months particularly those critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam. On occasion, its sources have shaded into the highly conservative part of the political spectrum, such as Human Events, America's Future, Fulton Lewis's Top of the News, and Young Americans for Freedom. At least once, it gave what amounted to a plug to the irresponsible National Eagle put out by Portland, Oregon's Freedom Center (Sec 1 - ORG). (Firing Line, August, 1963; the issue mentioned in the newsletter carried the front-page charge that "Martin Luther King, the NAACP and other race agitation [sic] are tools forging ultimate Communist objectives.")

Firing Line began publication in 1951 and was semi-monthly through 1960. The subscription rate has been \$1 a year throughout. No advertising is carried. Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

Free Enterprise

This is the monthly tabloid, usually eight pages, informally affiliated with We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG). WTP President Harry Everingham edits the paper and it carries a regular front-page column by the WTP Chairman, currently Tom Anderson, who is also a member of the John Birch Society's National Council. Free Enterprise utilizes a substantial amount of photo-reproduction from other sources, including the daily press as well as such right-wing sources as the Manion Forum (run by another member of the Birch Society Council, Clarence Manion). Headlines selected from recent issues reflect some of the flavor of the paper:

--"Americans, Arouse Yourselves! The One World Conspirators are Fast Approaching Their Objective" (April, 1966)

--"To End Supreme Court Tyranny, Let Every American Know the Score" (May, 1966)

--"Reds Plan to Control Geneva World Council of Churches Meeting" (June, 1966)

--"Let's Stop Disarming and WIN THIS WAR While We Still Can!" (July, 1966)

The subscription rate has been \$3 a year, since at least 1960. Advertising is carried. Published in Chicago from mid-1948 through 1965, Free Enterprise moved to Phoenix at the beginning of this year.

Freedom Magazine

The bi-monthly magazine of the Liberty Amendment Committee (Sec 1 - ORG), and successor to Willis Stone's earlier magazine, American Progress, Freedom Magazine is 8 1/2" x 11" in size, and currently runs to a standard 28 pages in length. While it focuses primarily on material related to its own campaign for the so-called "Liberty Amendment" (to repeal the 16th -- income tax -- amendment and to forbid the Federal government to "engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified in the Constitution"), the magazine reprints material from other periodicals on the right, such as Christian Economics, The Freeman and Life Lines.

Although he maintains that "the 'right-wing' label has been misapplied to the Liberty Amendment, Willis Stone has always worked closely with such organizations as We, The People! and the Courtneys, of New Orleans; and the Liberty Amendment Committee's state chairmen are frequently affiliated also with the Birch Society."

From Stone's adoption of a magazine format at the beginning of 1955 through 1964, the subscription rate was \$) for 12 issues; since then it has been \$4 for 12 issues. Advertising is carried. Published at Los Angeles, Calif.

Freedom Press

A semi-monthly newspaper, published in Southern

California by Mr. and Mrs. William Drake, who came to the state from Florida in 1951. Freedom Press began as a monthly in 1961 and changed to the twice-monthly publication schedule the following year. Usually eight pages, it utilizes the syndicated columns of Edith Kermit Roosevelt and the Allen-Scott Report regularly, along with articles by both of the Drakes. Other frequent "by-lines" appearing in Freedom Press are Lee Adamson, whose column also appears in The Wanderer (see below, page 19); Jose Norman, a Cuban refugee who speaks widely under the auspices of the Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau; and Jack Moffit, whose "Cracker Barrel" column also appears in American Opinion, along with his regular column on movies and the arts for the Birch Society magazine. The front-page banner headlines of three consecutive recent issues also reflect the flavor of the publication: "Federal Rights Officials Favor Civil Disobedience" (6/17/66); "Thought Control for U.S.A.?" (5/11/66); and "Gov't Spending Spree" (5/15/66).

The subscription rate was \$2 a year until March, 1962, and has been \$4 since then. The paper secured second-class postal status in late 1962, and reported an average paid circulation of 14,961 for the following year. Advertising is carried. Published at Glendale, Calif.

The Freeman

Reviving a name which had been utilized by the late Albert Jay Nock, a political theorist of individualism, The Freeman was launched in 1950 by John Chamberlain, Henry Hazlitt, Suzanne La Follette, and Alfred Kohlberg. Since mid-1954 it has been published by the tax-exempt Foundation for Economic Education, of Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., which describes its philosophy as "libertarian" -- against all forms of state intervention, and for the free market and private property. (Even before 1954, Leonard Read and FEE were listed among the owners of The Freeman, and there was continuity of editorial staff following the magazine's adoption by FEE.)

A monthly throughout its history, it has utilized a 5 1/4" x 7 1/4" format with a standardized 64-page length since the beginning of 1956. Articles by FEE staff-members and others are combined with reprints from various sources. In line with the purposes of FEE, the magazine's main, though not exclusive focus is on economic issues. The Managing Editor is Paul L. Poirot, of the FEE staff. Among the most frequent contributors -- in addition to Poirot and FEE President Leonard Read -- are Clarence B. Carson, a history professor at Grove City College; Edmund A. Opitz, another member of the FEE staff; and William Henry Chamberlin, a regular columnist for the Wall Street Journal.

Some of the flavor of the magazine and of the application of "libertarian" principles to specific issues is reflected in the titles of articles which have appeared this year: "Individualism versus Racism" ("The overwhelming tendency of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is to deny the civil rights of producers -- property owners -- in favor of the wishes of those seeking

something for nothing"); "The Fallacy of Foreign Aid" ("Our conclusion is that government-to-government foreign aid, as it exists at present, is a deterrent, not a spur, to world economic prosperity"); "The Fiasco of Urban Renewal" ("Contrast, for example, the fantastic increase of 18 million homes in the areas outside urban renewal projects with the net decrease of homes within"); "How Price Control Leads to Socialism"; "Creative Federalism" (" . . . socialism is the state ownership of the means of production (the planned economy) and/or . . . of the results of production (the welfare state). The new federalism qualifies as socialism pure and simple.")

Although N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory classifies almost one-third of The Freeman's circulation as "paid," there is no subscription rate as such. The masthead points out that people are placed on FEE's mailing list on request, adding that "Total expenses average \$12 a year per person on the mailing list" and that donations "are invited in any amount." Advertising is confined to the inside covers. Published at Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Human Events

Founded in early 1944 as a Washington newsletter, by the late Frank Hanighen, Human Events changed from the newsletter to a tabloid format in 1962. It relies heavily on reprint material, especially the syndicated work of a number of conservative columnists (the masthead lists more than twenty who appear regularly). Since the deaths in 1964 of both Hanighen and his long-time associate, James Wick, the editor has been Thomas S. Winter, who joined Hanighen's staff as an Assistant Editor in December, 1961, and the publisher has been Wick's brother, Milton.

Regular staff-written features in Human Events include a two-page news round-up "from Inside Washington," "Spotlight on Congress," which uses excerpts from the Congressional Record; and (in pre-election months) a "Races of the Week" page, which analyzes contests between liberals and conservatives. Some of the flavor of the paper is reflected in these sample headlines from recent issues: "Castro Guerrillas Busy in Puerto Rico" by Fulton Lewis, Jr.; "Supreme Court Clears Cain of Murder of Abel" by Morris Ryskind; "Slanted News Misleads Public"; "Teen-Age Street Gangs Used in Civil Rights Protests" from Allen Scott Report; "Foreign Aid Should be Made Election Issue" by Edgar Ansel Mowrer; "Free Enterprise System is True Path to Social Justice" (an editorial from the Indianapolis Star); "Why I Would Outlaw Residential Picketing" by Barry Goldwater; "Liberal Theories from 1930's Causing Today's Welfare Problems" by Alice Widener; and "Mississippi March Raced Another Civil Rights Failure" by George Schuyler.

The subscription rate for Human Events has changed a number of times. Prior to 1959 it was \$10 a year, then it rose to \$11 and a year later to \$12.50. For just over a year, 1963-4, it was dropped back down to \$9, but since mid-1964 it has been back at the \$12.50 annual rate. Advertising has been carried since the adoption of the tabloid format. Published at Washington, D. C.

Independent American

Begun in January, 1955 as Free Men Speak, then changing its name to the current one in 1957, this is the main publication of Kent and Phoebe Courtney, of New Orleans. (See Sec 4 - Special Report #5) While its masthead says that it is published "approximately every four to six weeks," it has actually appeared every two months during the period since 1962. Its format is standard newspaper size, and it usually runs to eight pages. A regular statement of policy declares that the paper is

dedicated to the defeat of Socialist and Communist influences that now pervade the thinking of our Federal government and the two major political parties. We believe that there is no difference between a New Deal Democrat and a Socialist-Internationalist Republican.

While Independent American always carries material written for it -- usually by the Courtneys themselves -- it relies heavily on reprints, not only of conservative and rightist columnists, but also of editorials from the more conservative segments of the daily press. Regular sources of the latter include William Loeb's Manchester (New Hampshire) Union-Leader, the Pulliam papers in Indianapolis (the News and Star), the Chicago Tribune, the Shreveport (Louisiana) Times, and the Richmond (Virginia) News-Leader. The most frequently used columns are those of Edith Kermit Roosevelt, Tom Anderson (of the Birch Society's National Council), Thurman Sensing (of Southern States Industrial Council), and the late Fulton Lewis, Jr. (despite a mid-1965 controversy between Lewis and the Courtneys over the latter's attack on Sen. Dodd as a "phony anti-communist"). Two members of Congress whose newsletters are frequently used as source material are Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R-Iowa).

The following headlines from recent issues indicate the flavor and viewpoint of the paper: "LBJ Panders to Afro-Asian Bloc by Moving Against Anti-Communist Rhodesia" by Phoebe Courtney; "Criminal Folly of the United Nations" by Thurman Sensing; "Children Get Slanted, Brainwash Type Questions on Federal Testing" from Ft. Lauderdale News; "Red-Lining Peace-niks" by Fulton Lewis, Jr.; "CFR/Council on Foreign Relations at the Control Switch -- Why the Republican Party Can't Really Oppose LBJ" by Phoebe Courtney; "Is Britain's Harold Wilson a Communist?"; and "Rads Infiltrate Even the Circus." The paper is currently indicating that it might support Alabama's George Wallace for President in 1968.

The subscription rate has long been \$3 for 12 issues. No advertising is carried. Published at New Orleans, Louisiana.

Intercollegiate Review

Beginning publication in January, 1966, this is the most recent, and most ambitious, of the publication efforts of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (Sec 1 - ORG). "A Journal of Scholarship and Opinion," it utilizes the format of the "scholarly journal" --

7" x 10" size, heavy paper, and usually in excess of 50 pages in length. It appears six times a year.

The Review's Editorial Advisory Board is made up of conservative academicians from all parts of the country and its contributors are generally either faculty members or graduate students. Its general point of view might be described as "hard-line" in foreign policy and "libertarian" or "laissez-faire" in domestic policy. That it is aimed at the intellectual rather than the "man-in-the-street" is readily seen in the following sample titles from recent issues: "John Locke Re-visited" by Willmore Kendall; "Tyranny, a Private Good"; "The Relation Between Power and Values in the Nuclear Age" by William Kintner; "The Materialistic Curtain in Higher Education"; "Freedom, Metaphysics, and Natural Law"; and "Utopianism and Realism in International Relations Theory."

Sent free to "student members and professors on the ISI mailing list," the Review carries a subscription rate of \$4 a year for non-members. Advertising largely for books and other journals is carried. Published at Philadelphia.

Liberty Letter

The monthly newsletter of Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG), this began irregular publication in January, 1961, settling into a monthly schedule two years later. While concentrating primarily on legislative issues, it also reports on the activities of Liberty Lobby and of other organizations closely related to it. The legislative viewpoint of the organization is partially reflected in such stands as against foreign aid, civil rights legislation, tariff reductions, and for a "pro-American" foreign policy, states' rights, less government spending and lower taxes, and withdrawal from the United Nations.

The flavor of the newsletter may be seen more clearly reflected in its use of such headlines as: "Jobs - Security Threatened as Immigration Vote Near" (September, 1965); "LBJ Threatens War on Friends /Rhodeia/" (November, 1965); "Extremists Plot Six-Point Package for Appeasement" (January, 1966); and "Socialists Plan Labor Government with L-B Money" (February, 1966).

The subscription rate has been \$1 a year throughout. 2nd-class postal status was granted in mid-1965. Some outside advertising is carried in usually a small box. Published at Washington, D. C.

Life Lines

This is the three-times-weekly newsletter of H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation. It does not identify the Hunt sponsorship but describes itself as "a nonprofit, non-denominational, religious-patriotic organization . . . dedicated to the preservation of American Freedoms through an informed public." A second major aspect of the foundation's activities is represented by its daily radio program, "Life Line." (See Sec 4 - Special Report #6)

The newsletter, which has used a 4-page, 8 1/2" x 11" format since the beginning of 1961, began publication

in late 1959. It often focuses on one topic in an issue, as does the radio program. Substantial use is made of reprint material, from the Congressional Record, reports of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and from other publications and organizations. Hunt himself frequently appears as a "guest columnist." On at least one occasion this year, Life Lines made a major slip -- publishing an attack on the Boy Scouts which it said "appeared in a recent issue of Pravda." The piece actually was a spoof, originally concocted by the satirical publication, Mad magazine. (See Life Lines 4/29/66. It is indicative of the newsletter's view of the Soviets that it didn't recognize satire in a charge that "the Scout cars have also set up a sister organization /the Girl Scouts/ . . . /which/ turns girls into unpaid door to door cookie vendors" with the proceeds going "directly to the Wall Street masterminds of the entire plot.")

More typical of the Life Lines style and viewpoint are the following selected quotes: "In the Protestant sphere, mass produced Sunday School material and many of the lessons taught to adult church classes bear a remarkable resemblance to statements of government agencies" (1/12/66); "Should we disarm, unilaterally or even as Communist nations make a show of some form of disarmament, we will lay this nation open to the defeat the Communists have been telling us about since 1917" (5/21/66); "Patriotism can recognize but one class of loyal citizens: those who are loyal without any ifs or buts or on the other hands" (6/29/66); "The ultimate end of government-in-business is state socialism, a system alien to American life; yet, government is continually entering some new field or deepening its hold on some business territory" (7/20/66); "For better or worse, the United States has entered into a contract with socialized (state) medicine in medically 'insuring' persons 65 and older" (8/12/66); and "Many people today -- especially pseudo-intellectuals, minority groups and new nations -- are demanding the freedom to do as they please" (8/22/66).

The subscription rate is \$5 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Washington, D. C.

Modern Age

Began in mid-1957, this quarterly formerly utilized the subtitle, "A Conservative Review," but now merely calls itself "A Quarterly Review." It is published under the auspices of the tax-exempt Foundation for Foreign Affairs. The largest single contributor to the Foundation seems to be the Marquette Charitable Trust, which is closely connected with the Regnery family, and the Foundation -- in addition to sponsoring Modern Age -- has sponsored a series of books published by the Regnery firm. Executive Secretary of the Foundation, and listed by Modern Age as its publisher, is David S. Collier; President of the Foundation and Editor of the Quarterly is Eugene A. Davidson, formerly on the staff of the Yale University press.

The format is that of the scholarly journal, 7" x 10" and with a standard length of 112 pages. The Summer, 1966 issue (which seems to be typical), contains such articles as "Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives'" by W. H. Hunt (currently a visiting professor of economics at the University of Virginia, more significantly a dean in the

commerce faculty of the University of South Africa); "Pitfalls of Forced Integration" by William Henry Chamberlin (Wall Street Journal columnist); a call for a return to the gold standard; two articles on natural law; a critical look at Sweden (as the "pilot study of welfare capitalism"); and more than 30 pages of book reviews.

The subscription rate is \$4 a year and circulation over the past six years seems to have been stable (at 5,000 plus.) Advertising, at least for books and other journals, is carried. Published at Chicago.

Monetary Notes

This is the monthly newsletter of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, edited (and primarily authored) by the Committee's long-time Executive Vice-President, Walter Spahr.

Among the Committee's stated purposes are "To combat unsound monetary programs such as those of the inflationists, devaluationists, and commodity dollar advocates" and "To educate the public as to the desirability of an early return to a gold standard." A 1965 letterhead lists some 68 economists from various sections of the country. Included are a number of familiar names from various points on the right-wing spectrum: Karl Brandt, a member of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors and reputedly a Goldwater adviser in 1964; Lev Dobriansky, perhaps best known as chairman of the Captive Nations Week Committee, but prominent in the work of other organizations, including the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and the American Security Council; Melchior Palyi, who has appeared as a witness representing the Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee; Hans F. Sennholz, who has a regular column in the Birch Society's magazine, American Opinion; and V. Orval Watts, who has worked closely with Robert LeFevre's Freedom School at Colorado Springs.

Although the Committee was organized in late 1931, Monetary Notes apparently did not begin publication until 1940. It is a four-page publication distributed free (including copies to all Members of Congress). No advertising is carried. Published at New York City.

National Chronicle

This is the successor to the Shasta County Chronicle of Burney, California, which began in January of 1952. Its long-time editor-publisher is Hal W. Hunt. A four-page weekly, utilizing a newspaper format, it has long been characterized by an extreme viewpoint -- until early 1964 its masthead carried the slogan: "Get the U. N. OUT of the U. S. & the U. S. OUT of the United Nations." More recently it has become even more extreme, featuring anti-Semitic materials and sentiments and sporting as its masthead slogan, "THE SUPREMACY of the WHITE MAN MUST BE UPHOLD."

The subscription rate was \$3.50 a year thru 1962, then \$4 until 1965, is now \$5 annually. Circulation appears to have been relatively stable at a low level.

-- 460 reported for 1958, only 538 reported for 1962, some four years later. Advertising is carried. Published at Burney, Calif.

National Program Letter

This is the four-page, monthly newsletter of the National Education Program at Harding College (see Sec 4 - Special Report #14). It used to describe itself as "A Monthly Letter of thought and opinion about America's problems . . ." -- it now bears the three-point slogan: "Working To Expand Man's Freedom (Not Constrict It); To Expand Man's Worth (Not Erode It); To Expand Man's Faith in God (Not in False Idols)."

The lead items in four recent issues were titled as follows: "Today's Three Horsemen" (Darwin, Marx and Keynes); "No Time for New Taxes" ("the American public . . . ought to create a nationwide clamor for drastically cutting or abolishing altogether all Government spending not absolutely essential to cope with the crisis we are in -- hot war and destructive inflation"); "No Retreat in Vietnam" and "Experts' Aid World Communism" (By supporting admission of Red China to the U. N.).

The subscription rate, at least since the late 1950's, has been \$1 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Searcy, Ark.

National Review

Generally identified with William F. Buckley, Jr., (Sec 2 - IND) its founder and editor, National Review is probably the best known of the periodicals of the right wing, despite the fact that it is not the most widely circulated. Critics Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein characterized it as "the best-written and best-edited Rightist publication in the country." (Danger on the Right, p. 243)

Although it classifies itself as a "weekly," since October of 1958 it has actually been two publications in one: alternating a "slick" paper magazine, usually of 50 pages length, with an eight-page newsletter format, National Review Bulletin. Each is available singly, though it seems likely that the Bulletin's readership is largely made up of those subscribing to both.

In its first issue, published in November of 1955, National Review announced that it would stand "athwart history, yelling Stop, at a time when no one is inclined to do so . . ." It continued:

National Review is out of place, in the sense that the United Nations and the League of Women Voters and the New York Times and Henry Steele Commager are in place. It is out of place because, in its maturity, literate America rejected conservatism in favor of radical social experimentation.

In the same issue, the magazine set forth its convictions, which -- together with the first half-dozen issues -- were to lead Harper's editor John Fischer to conclude that "the new magazine was an organ, not

of conservatism, but of radicalism." (Harper's, March, 1956) Some excerpts from NR's "Credenda" follow:

It is the job of centralized government (in peacetime) to protect its citizens' lives, liberty and property. All other activities of government tend to diminish freedom and hamper progress. . . .

The century's most blatant force of satanic utopianism is communism. We consider "coexistence" with communism neither desirable nor possible, nor honorable; we find ourselves irrevocably at war with communism and shall oppose any substitute for victory.

The most alarming single danger to the American political system lies in the fact that an identifiable team of Fabian operators is bent on controlling both our major political parties . . .

The competitive price system is indispensable to liberty and material progress. It is threatened not only by the growth of Big Brother government, but by the pressure of monopolies -- including union monopolies.

No superstition has more effectively bewitched America's Liberal elite than the fashionable concepts of world government, the United Nations, internationalism, international atomic pools, etc. . . . It would make greater sense to grant independence to each of our 48 states than to surrender U. S. sovereignty to a world organization.

From the perspective of more than eight years, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein came to a conclusion basically the same as that of John Fischer:

In a sense, the National Review is to the contemporary Extreme Right Wing what the New Masses was to the Extreme Left Wing three or four decades ago. . . .

. . . Buckley is one of the leading fellow travelers of the American Radical Right. On a number of subjects, his own political thinking and the National Review's line fall just short of Radical Right. (Op. cit., p. 241)

On the other hand, while NR is on the recommended reading list of the John Birch Society, Buckley and his magazine have become increasingly critical of the Society. At first limiting their attacks to Welch and avoiding criticism of JBS rank and file, Buckley and NR have reluctantly come to admit that Welch and the Society are inseparable, and the October 19, 1965, issue of the magazine features a critical symposium on the Society, concluding that it "is a grave liability to the conservative and anti-Communist cause."

In addition to Editor Buckley and Publisher William Rusher, NR's masthead features James Burnham, who contributes a regular column, Frank S. Meyer, a frequent contributor, and William F. Rickenbacker, as well as a number of Associates and Contributors. A regular feature of the Bulletin is M. Stanton Evans's one-page column, "At Home." Each of these is active in various other right-wing movements.

The subscription rate is \$16 a year for both magazine and newsletter (or \$9 and \$7 respectively), unchanged since the beginning of 1963. It had been \$8 a year for the weekly magazine until October, 1958; then \$8 and \$7 for each of the two formats from that date through 1962. Advertising is carried. Published at Meriden, Conn.; editorial offices in New York City.

New Guard

The monthly magazine of Young Americans for Freedom (Sec 4 - ORG), New Guard began publishing with its March, 1961 issue. Throughout, it has used an 8 1/2 x 11" magazine format, and it currently has a standard length of 26 pages. Editor since early 1963 has been David Franke, a former editorial assistant at National Review and still listed on the NR masthead as a Contributor. He was preceded by Carol Bauman (Sec 2 - IND), whose husband was YAF National Chairman from 1962 to 1965.

In addition to reportage of YAF activities around the country, the magazine regularly features a newsletter-style "Washington Report," a one-page "Report on the Left," and a number of book reviews, as well as feature articles. Titles of some of the latter in recent months have been: "The Republican More Like JFK Than Any Other" (Ronald Reagan, according to Lee Edwards); "The Princeton Popular Front" ("Vietnam has replaced Spain and the New Left has succeeded the Old Left, but nothing is really new on the campus"); "What's Happened to Patriotism?" ("We have debunked the hero to make room for the jerk"); and "The Fascist Threat to America" (a two-part article by the editor of a new conservative publication, Rally; it contends that "The thrust of modern liberalism's economic and political programs is toward an indigenous fascism").

The subscription rate was \$3 a year through 1962, has been \$4 since then. Advertising is carried. While it announced that an application for 2nd-Class status was pending in February, 1963, New Guard evidently dropped it until the Spring of 1965 when it was again applied for, and obtained in September, 1965. Published at Washington, D. C.

Through to Victory

Describing itself as "The Conservative Monthly Publication for Lutheran Laymen for Christ and Country," this is the outlet of Rev. Paul C. Neipp, pastor of Our Saviour's Lutheran Church, in Ridgcrest, Calif. Neipp, who has had a local radio program since 1956, has also written a number of anti-Communist tracts

and, in 1962, published Let's Take the Offensive, which called for the formation of anti-communist study groups and recommended a wide variety of rightist materials, including Keynes at Harvard, Dan Smoot's series on the Council on Foreign Relations, the Birch Society's set, Twelve Candles, the Courtneys' book on Gen. Walker, and Dean Clarence Manion's Key to Peace. Neipp calls the Birch Society's 1960 "Scoreboard Issue", A World Gone Crazy, a "must for every American." A more recent Neipp publication, Win Now or Lose All (published in 1964 and featuring a Foreword by John Noble and a Preface by Karl Prusison), claims that the author has been "instrumental in starting over 700 pro-American, anti-Communism study groups throughout the United States and Canada."

Through to Victory began publication in March, 1961, and used an eight-page, 8 1/2 x 11" format through 1962, changing then to a tabloid newspaper format, still of eight pages. A good deal of material is reprinted from other sources and special attention is paid to allegations of left-wing activities in the churches -- thus, one issue contained a lead article titled, "Has Communist Thought Penetrated the Churches?"; another page headed, "Gus Hall, Head of the Communist Party has plans to use The National Council of Churches . . ."; and still another item titled, "The Making of a Left-Wing Parson."

The subscription rate has been \$2 a year since the shift to a tabloid format; it was \$1 prior to that. It has had 2nd-Class status since late 1961. No outside advertising seems to be carried. Published at Ridgecrest, Calif.

Top of the News

This is the weekly transcript of the Monday-through-Friday broadcast commentaries of the late Fulton Lewis, Jr., now being continued by his son, Fulton Lewis III. It began publication in 1959. The format is that of an eight-page newsletter, with the back page frequently being devoted to the reprint of a speech or article. (These often run for several consecutive issues. Thus, reprinted this year have been two speeches by Richard Nixon, each running for five issues; one by Roger Freeman (Sec 2 - IND), which ran for eight issues; one by right-wing editor-columnist Jenkin Lloyd Jones, which ran for five; and an article from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, which ran for five issues.)

Some of the Lewis viewpoint and flavor is reflected in such excerpts as his reference to Newsweek magazine as "the mouthpiece of the ultra-liberal Washington Post and the extreme left-wing establishment generally" (11/30/64), his post-election comment in 1964 that "Senator Goldwater had just about everything stacked against him in this campaign, by the liberal left wing of the Republican Party and their cohorts among the big money powers that be who have controlled the party for years" (11/4/64), and his characterization of Presidential messages to Congress as "carefully calculated exercises in twisted interpretations, carefully disguised half-truths, tortured mathematics and accounting which, if used by individuals in private enterprise would have the prisons overflowing in the flick of a pig's tail" (11/19/66).

The subscription rate is \$15 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Washington, D. C.

U. S. A.

Begun in 1954, this is the expensive newsletter published by Alice Widener, conservative columnist and author of Behind the U. N. Front (Bookmailer, 1955). In her book, Mrs. Widener charged, among other things, that "in 1945, members of the Socialist International flocked to the UN with a scheme to use it as a socialist laboratory." The international organization has continued to be a favorite target. Thus, in March, 1963 U. S. A. asked

Are we willing to hand over determination of our foreign policy and economic policies to the United Nations? We should make up our minds about this while there is still time to do so. Otherwise, we'll wake up some morning to find ourselves subjects, not citizens, of an imposed supergovernment . . .

In an October, 1964 issue and in an appearance on Manion Forum that December, she warned against use of the General Assembly to by-pass the Security Council (as under the so-called "Uniting for Peace" approach sponsored by the U. S. in 1951):

If you establish the General Assembly as a legislative and appropriative body, there is no limit to the amount of money it can spend . . .

And in an issue of May, 1966, U. S. A. charged

If things go on as they are now, U. N. Headquarters might possibly mark the spot where the advanced nations committed suicide after having submitted to bankrupting political blackmail by the backward nations.

Technically a bi-weekly, U. S. A. often appears less frequently with "combined" issues. The subscription rate is \$20 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at New York, N. Y.

The Wanderer

Characterizing itself simply as "A National Catholic Weekly," this is a successor to the German language Der Wanderer, which was published from 1867 until 1957 (the English language edition was begun in 1931). Since the turn of the century the publication has been under the editorship of the Matt family -- the late Joseph L. Matt until his retirement in 1963, and his two sons, Alphonso and Walter, since. It utilizes a standard newspaper format, usually running to ten pages in length. As a part of its standing head it quotes from Pope Pius the XI: "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."

Conservative columnists regularly utilized by The Wanderer include William F. Buckley, Jr., Gen. Thomas A. Larr, Robert Morris, and Edith Kermit

Roosevelt. Material from the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (Sec 1 - ORG) is also regularly reprinted. The weekly's commitment to the right wing is reflected in its post-election comment in a 1964 "Christmas greeting" to subscribers:

... the well-organized Liberal Establishment, assisted by the entrenched forces of self-serving office-holders, money lenders, and labor barons, and the dictators of so-called "public opinion" in press, rostrum and pulpit, have once more succeeded in maintaining their strangle-hold on American free men,

The Wanderer also sponsors an annual conference, featuring this year, among others, Phyllis Schlafly (author of The Gravediggers and Strike From Space), Birch Society Endorser Fr. Ferdinand Falque, and Birch Society Council members St. J. Conner and Fr. Francis Fenton. Items in a recent issue (7/28/66) included: "NAACP's New Push In Movies, TV" ("How much more representation do they want?"); "Another 'Peace' Convocation" (editorial on a "Pacem in Terris" conference in Belmont, Calif. -- "From the Papal program of restoring the world to Christ and His Kingship, to the San Francisco program of 'exploring ways to make the world safe for diversity . . . is a far cry indeed!"); "Mississippi March Rated Another Civil Rights Flop" (by syndicated columnist George Schuyler); and "Road to Anarchy" (a guest editorial from the Los Angeles Tidings -- "The pity is that the legitimate and laudable objectives of the civil rights movement tend to be obscured by the type of methods employed to attain them").

The subscription rate has been \$5 a year since the beginning of 1963, was \$4 a year prior. Advertising is carried. Published at St. Paul, Minn.

Washington News Beat

This monthly has just announced its termination, after fourteen years of publication. It began in 1952 as a newsletter, The Lowdown on Farm Affairs, edited and published by Glenn Marts (Sec 2 - IND), who had been on the staff of the American Farm Bureau Federation. In 1961 it changed its focus, format and name, becoming Washington News Beat. "An independent magazine . . . devoted to behind the headline news." Running 12 to 16 pages in length, it always made use of a considerable amount of reprint material.

When Marts retired, he was replaced by an associate, McLellan Smith, who served as editor thru the final issue in June, 1966.

The far-right character of News Beat's viewpoint was reflected in such items as its sympathetic report on the John Birch Society (Sept., 1964), its charge that "All . . . elements /of the Democratic Party/, from the White House down, are in the hands now of people whom /Walter/ Reuther is controlling or run control" (July, 1964), and its attack on the National Council of Churches "for its adherence to, and propagandizing of, collectivist doctrines repugnant to our existence as free men" (Sept., 1965).

The subscription rate was \$5 a year, and unexpired subscriptions have been taken over by Human Events (see above, p.15), with which News Beat had earlier had a joint subscription arrangement. No advertising was carried. Published at Warrenton, Va., since October, 1964; Fredericksburg, Va. prior to that.

Washington Report

This is the weekly newsletter "analysis of developments affecting the nation's security" prepared and published by the American Security Council (see Sec 4 - Special Report #1). Prior to June of this year the Managing Editor was DeWitt S. Copp, co-author of Betrayal at the U. N. (Devin-Adair, 1961 -- a book about the Bang-Jensen case); now Managing Editor is Frank J. Johnson, author of No Substitute for Victory (Regnery, 1962). Also on the staff and a frequent contributor is Adm. Chester Ward (Sec 2 - IND); co-author of Strike from Space.

In format, Washington Report is 8 1/2" x 11" in size, usually only four pages in length, and generally devoted to a single topic. It consistently follows what is best called "the hard line" in foreign policy, regarding peaceful coexistence as undesirable if not impossible and opposing such measures as the nuclear test ban of 1961. Articles during the past twelve months have included: "The New Campus Left" (by National College Young Republican Chairman Tom Pauken); "The Reality of East-West Trade" ("the Americans are building bridges but the tollgates are all on Communist territory"); "The Turning of the Tide" (in Vietnam -- "We are beginning to win. We dare not lose"); "Communist Plans for Guerrilla Warfare in the U. S." and "The Primacy of Power" (a reply to Sen. Fulbright).

The subscription rate is \$12 a year. No advertising is carried. Published in Chicago, but prepared by the Washington Bureau of ASC.

Weekly Crusader

Another publication of Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade (see also Christian Crusade magazine, above, p. 10), this weekly began publication in November, 1960. It is generally eight pages in length and includes as a regular feature, "Around the World," a column by Cuban refugee Fernando Penabaz, who is also Hargis's official biographer. Sample headlines during late 1965 included: "The Consular Treaty . . . Another 'PEACE' Move"; "The Left Coalition" (Walter Reuther, Martin Luther King, and the National Council of Churches); "Government by Computer" (reprinted from Edward Hunter's monthly publication, Tactics); "Reds Plan to Exploit Pope Paul's U. N. Visit" and "Freedom of Speech vs. 'Fairness Doctrine'"

The subscription rate has been \$10 a year throughout. No advertising is carried. Published at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Western Destiny

This represented a short-lived effort to publish philosophical

sophical bigotry in a pseudo-intellectual format. It featured a quotation from Nietzsche on its masthead and proclaimed such figures as Oswald Spengler, Richard Wagner, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain as "representative of the giants of the West whose titanic message Western Destiny will spread." Its associate editors were, as the first issue proudly noted, formerly connected with Right, a publication of the 1955-60 period which has since been characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as "a clearing house for news and information about anti-Semitic activities." (Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right, p. 79) The format utilized by Western Destiny was that of an 18-page magazine, on heavy paper. Sample article titles included: "Segregation and Evolution"; "The Hidden Bonds Between Communism and Liberalism"; "Repatriation: Solution to a Problem"; and "Spotlight on the Culture Distorters" (a recurring theme of the magazine).

Western Destiny began publication in mid-1964 but this year "suspended" and turned its list of subscribers over to American Mercury (see above, p. 9 -- in addition many of Western Destiny's "Contributing Editors" are now listed by the Mercury).

The subscription rate was \$4 a year. Ads for books and other publications were carried. At first editorial offices were in Milwaukee, Wisc. and business offices in Sausalito, Calif.; after March, 1965, both were combined in Los Angeles.

Western Voice

This is the long-time weekly paper of the late Harvey H. Springer, the "cowboy evangelist." Of Springer, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, of the Anti-Defamation League, wrote, in 1952: "Springer mixes personal glamor with fundamentalist doctrine, spicing the whole with hate and bigotry." They noted that, "For more than a decade Springer was part of the nationalist anti-Semitic movement," but, "some years ago," had "turned to anti-Catholicism as a more lucrative way to make a living." "In addition to attacking Jews and Catholics, he has assailed Negroes, liberals, aliens, labor unions, and the Federal Council of Churches . . ." (The Troublemakers, pp. 127, 128 and 133-4) He worked closely with Rev. Carl McIntire, both in the American Council of Christian Churches and the International Council of Christian Churches, and spoke at McIntire's "Christian Admiral" hotel conferences.

Western Voice, which utilized a tabloid format, evidently began publication in mid-1937 and received second-class postal status in 1941. "Straight Talk," the column of Birch Society Council member Tom Anderson, is a frequent feature of the paper. Sample headlines have included "Catholic Plunder of the U. S. Treasury" and "Black Muslims Train Teenagers to Kill" (5/21/64); "Presbyterians Elect Negro 'Frontier' as Moderator" (7/23/64); "Inter-Racial Riots and the National Council of Churches" (9/3/64); "Evolution - Fact or Fancy?" (9/24/64); and "Why Stay in the U.N.?" (1/14/65). Ads for anti-Catholic literature from various sources frequently appear.

The subscription rate has been \$2 a year since August, 1962; was \$1 prior to that. Advertising is carried. Published at Englewood, Colorado.

PERIODICALS ON THE RIGHT -- A Supplement

(This updates and adds information to Special Report #19, dated 9/20/66; it should be inserted in the Directory immediately following that report.)

In the months since the preparation of the initial Special Report on this subject, 1966 circulation figures have become available for periodicals with second-class postal status. This information has been gathered on virtually all of the periodicals included in Table 1 (page 2, above), plus five additional periodicals: The Fact Finder, of We, the People!'s Harry Everingham; Herald of Freedom, edited and published by Frank Capell, the Birch Society's weekly Review of the News; Edward Hunter's monthly newsletter, Tactics; and a West Coast publication, Toxin. (See pages 35-6, below, for brief descriptions of these.) Three of the periodicals listed in Table 1 have been dropped: Washington News Beat and Western Destiny had both ceased publication even prior to the earlier report (see pages 40-1); and the National Chronicle has been dropped as being a local publication (with circulation less than 1,000).

Total Growth Pattern

Average annual circulation figures for these 32 periodicals are provided in Table 6 on the following page. Figures for 1964 thru 1966 are given to provide a comparison of last year with the year before. The composite pattern (i.e., total circulation) reflects continued growth in 1966, but at a substantially less rapid rate than that of the year before. Thus, in the year that included the Goldwater campaign and its after-effects, composite circulation grew by 15 per cent; but over the succeeding year the rate of growth had dropped to 7.5 per cent.

Despite this "slowing down" of the growth rate, and even some indications that the rate may slow down still further this year, it should be noted that right-wing periodicals continue to outstrip those on the left, both in total quantity and in growth rate. As was done in the initial report, figures on various left-of-center periodicals are provided in Table 7, at the top of page 24. Ranging from The Reporter to Political Affairs, both in viewpoint and in size, these continued to reflect a growth rate significantly below that of the publications in Table 6 -- increasing average paid circulation just over 7 per cent between 1964 and 1965 and less than 4 per cent the following year. Similarly, both Liberty Letter and The Defender have passed New Republic in size; American Opinion, the Birch Society monthly, has now passed The Progressive as well as The Nation; and the right wing can still claim twice as many periodicals as the liberals in the more-than-20,000 category. In short, it continues to be true that "right-wing periodicals . . . enjoy far wider circulation than left-of-center periodicals."

Rankings

With one exception, the ten periodicals which were top-ranked in 1965, also headed the list for 1966, though with several changes in order. Human Events dropped to third place, and Liberty Letter took the

top spot. The Defender, which has recently lost its editor of the last two years, G. H. Montgomery (see page 13), continues to emphasize fundamentalist religion, but with references to "the grip of Communist and Socialist propaganda, evolution in education and false religion in the churches." (December, 1966, issue) It also continues to exhibit as rapid a circulation rise as Liberty Letter and has taken over the second position. Rev. Carl McIntire's Christian Beacon and Rev. Billy James Hargis's monthly Christian Crusade have almost switched places, the former moving into fifth position while the latter dropped to seventh. William F. Buckley's National Review and the totally unlike Councilor of Ned Touchstone each remained in the same relative position (third and sixth respectively); while American Opinion and the Dan Smoot Report each moved up one place (the latter doing so despite a downturn in circulation). Finally, Common Sense continued the decline that set in with Conde McGinley's death and dropped from 7th to 15th place in the rankings. Reflecting a hard-core of bigotry on the right-wing, Gerald L. K. Smith's magazine, The Cross and the Flag, moved into tenth position.

Indicators for 1967

As has been noted, the figures in all the preceding analysis are averages of paid circulation. These have been favored as more "firm" figures, not reflecting any possible "seasonal" factors, etc. Second-class periodicals, however, also report their paid circulation for the issue closest to the time of filing, i. e. September or October of each year. These can be used as tentative indicators of the direction in which circulation is moving at that time. (A September figure above the annual average would indicate growth, one below it would indicate decline -- assuming no "seasonal" variable, and ignoring the possibility of a "reversal" of the trend in the months after September.) This sort of comparison is made for the more important periodicals in Table 8 on page 25. For the 17 periodicals covered, about one-third indicate continued growth, and nearly two-thirds a decline. The composite total indicates a very slight increase.

Combining the comparisons in Table 8 with the data furnished by Table 6, it is possible to group the various right-wing periodicals according to growth patterns. Four reflected fairly general growth throughout: The Defender and The Councilor showing the most rapid increase; American Opinion showing a steady, but less spectacular rise (as perhaps befits a \$10-a-year publication); and New Guard a nearly steady growth, marked only by a temporary decline between 1965 and 1966.

Two publications, Liberty Letter and National Review, appear to have "peaked" in the year just past, while several others seem to have done so in 1965 (i.e., following the "surge" of the Goldwater campaign): Human Events, The Dan Smoot Report, The Wanderer, The Cross and the Flag, and Western Voice. Reflecting